1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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224 *Regulation of the tribal hunt.*—It can not be said that there were
[721] many special regulations during the tribal hunt. The rules applying to the regulation of war parties held here too. (For a description of these, see p. 158.)

Individuals were strictly prohibited from taking the initiative except by permission. For instance, a man was not allowed to proceed beyond a certain point, or shoot before a certain time; in short, not to do anything by which he might endanger his own life, the safety of his companions, or the success of the hunt, such as scaring away the animals or causing them to stampede.

625 It is during the tribal hunts that the power of the Bear clan is at
224 its height. For this reason it may perhaps be most appropriate to
614 include here a description* of these powers, although this really
484 belongs in the section on Social Organization:

Whenever the Winnebago are on their tribal hunt or whenever they move from one place to another, the soldiers (i. e., the Bear people) take the lead. Whenever they decide to stop at some place, the leader of the Bear people places his stick in the ground and the other soldiers do the same. The line of sticks is a slanting one. The main tribe follows behind at some distance and always camps a little behind them. None of the members of the tribe dare pass ahead of these sticks. If, for instance, during the fall move the tribe were passing through a country in which much game abounded, and if after the tribe had stopped at a certain place anyone should take it upon himself to go ahead and kill game on his own initiative, and he
[686] was discovered, the soldiers would go to his camp and burn it and everything it contained, destroy any supplies he had, and break his dishes. They would spare only his life and the lives of his family. If he resisted he would get a severe whipping. If even after that he resisted them and took his gun and attempted to shoot, the soldiers would not do anything but stand ready. But the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him and nothing would be said of the matter, for they would be putting into effect the law of the tribe. If, on the other hand, the man submitted to the action of the soldiers and apologized they would make him a better lodge and would give him more and better things than those they had taken away.

Fishing and Agriculture

226 *Fishing.*—In former times fishing seems to have been done exclu-
sively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (*woca'*) consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (*ma'nuxinizini*) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

227 The most commonly used trap for fishing was a triangular weir
loaded with a stone at its base and placed at the head of a waterfall caused by artificial damming of a stream.

784 Very few fish were taboo, the principal ones being the dogfish
226 and the eel.

* By Thunder Cloud.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans, the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most important in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the village, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namazinizini*. Some individuals also claimed that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled baton of authority called *namazinizini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'reus*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namazinizini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692] 682

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 784

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622 682]

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

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621 The leaders of the west and south bands receive each 3½ yards
756 of calico and a fourth of the food.

431 The ancestor host receives various gifts of food and tobacco from the leaders of the other bands. He receives his payment from the candidate before the ceremony proper.

756 The candidate is present at the four nights' ceremony of the an-
796 cestor host's band, preliminary to the ceremony proper. At the latter ceremony he sits to the right of the ancestor host's band. He is not dressed in his new suit until after the secret ceremonies in the brush.

302 There are facial decorations distinctive of the different bands:
621 The host's band and the candidate paint a blue circle on each cheek, but its significance is unknown to the writer.

The regalia used are simple and few. They consist of eagle, hawk, squirrel, beaver, and otter-skin bags (pls. 51–53), a drum, gourd rattles, and invitation sticks. The otter-skin bags are always beaded and contain the sacred shell and various medicines. A few red feathers are always inserted in the mouth of the otter-skin bag. The gourds contain buckshot at the present time and are painted with blue finger marks.

Division of the ceremony.—The medicine dance is divided into five well-marked parts. The first part (I) consists of the two nights' preparation preceding the sending out of the invitation sticks. This takes place at the home of the ancestor host in the presence of the members of his band and the candidate. The second part (II) consists of the four nights' preparation preceding the sweat-lodge ritual. Each band has its own four nights' preparation, although that of the ancestor host begins before the others. The third part (III) consists of the rites held in a sweat lodge, specially constructed for this purpose near the medicine lodge, on the morning after the four nights' preparation. The participants are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east, west, north, and south bands, each with his two assistants, and the candidate. The fourth part (IV) consists of the ceremony proper, which in turn must be divided into the night ceremony (*a*) and the day ceremony (*b*). The fifth part (V) consists of the rites held in the brush, at which the secrets of the society are imparted to the candidate. Special guards are placed on all sides of the brush to prevent the intrusion of outsiders. The participants,
[625] besides the candidate, are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east and north bands, each with his two assistants, and all other individuals who have bought the privilege of attending. These ceremonies take place at dawn preceding the day ceremony.

Two feasts and one intermission interrupt the main ceremony. The feasts always take place at the end of the ritual of the east
[621] band—i. e., generally at noon and at midnight. The intermission

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is also of great import here. Among the Winnebago, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that public criership was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. (Here the grouping together was due to the successful performance of certain test-acts.) Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented on the one hand a restriction of the number of individuals, on the other hand the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a large number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to that of the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing such an association. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from those of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. The functions of the Thunderbird clan likewise do not

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174 lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even
614 should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over
the other types of association, we must still insist that psycho-
625 logically the functions are in each case associated with a group
unit and that we are not dealing with the relation of cause
and effect but with a new association.

182 Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions,
614 the details of which cannot be discussed here. The Thunderbird
is the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the
tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected
with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan, that relating
to war; the Bear clan, that relating to policing and discipline,
both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the
Buffalo clan, that of public crier and intermediary between
the chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and the Elk
clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions.
Thus, the Wolf people were considered in the light of "minor"
soldiers; the Water-spirit people as connected with the passage
of streams, etc.; and the Elk as connected with the care of the
fire-places while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for
seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association
of political functions with clans was a type that had found
[174] great favour among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being
extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of
[171] ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found cor-
responding favour, while among the Central Algonkin neither
type occurred.

[171] Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan
are the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan organization
and have given an entirely different picture to clan structure
there.

The Reciprocal Relationship of the Clans.

614 We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was
616 the fact that they belonged to the same side. But there is a
special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation
(*hitcak'ɔ'ro*). This always subsists between two, although it

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
562 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and
624 by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder,"
551 &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
614 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin,
174 and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the
[648] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

According to M.R., a party of Winnebago once went on the warpath and were badly beaten. One man, the only survivor according to his claim, returned to his village. There he recounted his valorous deeds at the side of his companions, and said he had escaped only because the enemy had left him for dead. He was accorded great honor until sometime later another member of the party returned and told how the first man had fled and hidden out in the woods when he saw that the battle was going against the Winnebago. The cowardly and dishonest warrior, on the decision of the police (bear) clan, then had to take on the role of a woman and lived in disgrace the rest of his life.

Evidence concerning the berdache was even less definite in Nebraska. G.P., a woman about fifty years old in 1950, mentioned that her mother-in-law once told her of a case which agreed in most details with that of dejáŋčowiŋga, but this individual was called čoŋanažiŋga and was supposed to have lived in Wisconsin. However, G.S., a man born in 1887, who also told of čoŋanažiŋga, gave an account of a berdache who was his mother's cousin. G.S.'s mother was Iowa and Oto through her maternal line and the berdache cousin, referred to as "sister," was a parallel cousin of Iowa and Oto descent. However, the description G.S. recounted as having come from his mother is almost identical to that regarding the Winnebago berdache. The cousin had been blessed by the moon, feared death if he disobeyed the moon's directions that he dress and act as a woman, even to giving this as the reason for his behavior when G.S.'s mother once remonstrated with him for being, "a shame to us Indians."

An attempt was made to discover whether the Winnebago berdache role for men had a parallel Siouan role of "warrior women." Only one very doubtful account was collected in 1946 from S.S. the Wisconsin informant who provided the first extensive description of dejáŋčowiŋga.

Once there was a man, kind of high tone, he had two wives. The older one wanted to keep her husband so she had him marry her younger sister too. They used to do that years ago when they wanted to hold their husbands. Anyway, this man and his gang went off to the Civil War. There was a bad woman in the camp. She was a good looker, but she was bad, and this man took the bad woman with him. During the war one time they ran out of bullets, and this woman got on a horse and went through the enemy lines to a big city and came back with a whole lot of bullets and saved them. Another time she warned them when they were all asleep and the enemy was near. When they came back, she was riding on the horse in front of the man, and the men had all given her presents for saving them. Her waist was just covered with ribbons and the man's two wives cried when they saw it. The people made up a song about her because she was a brave woman and sometimes they still sing it. After that they always called her hinugrosiŋgra which meant that she laughed aloud like a man, shaking her whole body [hinugrosiŋgra—hiŋuk:woman; ro:body; siŋk:to shake as with laughter; ra: article; k is voiced when followed by r]. They call those giggling girls that nowadays sometimes.

While the above account probably represents an isolated example of a woman who went to war rather than an accepted type of role, it is apparent that

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and
[778] absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not